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From: Royal Anthropological Institute. Journal. V. 51, pp.  
310-342

## HETERODOX TRIBES OF ASIA MINOR.<sup>1</sup>

By the late F. W. HASLUCK.

### I.

#### § 1. INTRODUCTORY.

PROFESSOR VON LUSCHAN, in his Huxley lecture on *Early Inhabitants of Asia Minor*,<sup>2</sup> has done much to bring order into our ideas of the still insufficiently known ethnological and religious divisions of that country. His studies are based mainly on his personal observations, and his point of view is for the most part that of a physical anthropologist. His predecessors in field work, dealing generally with narrower areas, have produced a great mass of literature, scattered or in some cases difficult of access, and no serious attempt has been made to approach the problems involved from the historical side. It therefore seems worth while at this stage to bring together the scattered material of explorers and collate with it such historical information as may be gleaned from printed sources, with the object of presenting in one view a summary of the facts at our disposal and the problems they suggest for the investigation of future explorers in the history, and particularly the religious history, of Anatolia.

European travellers in Asia Minor, mainly classical archæologists and very seldom orientalist, are generally better acquainted with Christianity than with Islam. Consequently, the divisions of the Christians are more obvious to them than those of the Mahomedan populations. By most the latter are regarded as a single whole, and any divergence they may notice from orthodox *Sunni* practice suggests to them that the population in question has been affected by Christianity, that is, it represents an originally Christian population half-converted to Islam. This

<sup>1</sup> [My husband left this article in an unfinished condition. Shortly before his death, he expressed a doubt as to whether it should be published, but as illness and war conditions had separated him for more than three years from his MS., he spoke from memory only. It has seemed to me that Part I could be published as it stood and that a little editing, mostly in the form of re-arrangement, would render Part II also suitable for publication. This has been done, but as my husband wished the article, if published, to be re-printed as a chapter in his book, *Studies in Greek and Turkish Popular Religion*, I should be grateful for any suggestions or criticisms which would assist me in removing blemishes from the article before its final incorporation in this book. Letters addressed to me c/o Newnham College, Cambridge, will be forwarded.—M.M.H.]

<sup>2</sup> *J.R. Anthr. Inst.* xli, 221 ff.



archæologically attractive theory is especially dangerous in so far as it touches anthropological questions, since the supposed converted Christians are naturally assumed to be a pre-Turkish, and, in default of evidence to the contrary (which is never forthcoming), an aboriginal population.

The archæologists, then, mainly on the evidence afforded by religion, hold that (1) the heterodox tribes are converted Christians, and they gladly accept the theory of the anthropologists, based mainly on craniology, that (2) the heterodox tribes are aboriginal. The orientalist, headed by Vambéry, deny both these statements, holding that the peoples concerned are mainly of Turkish blood and comparatively recent immigrants from Western Persia or beyond.

As far as religion is concerned, the main purpose of the present paper is to emphasise the fact that, though crypto-Christians exist in Asia Minor, many, if not most, of the unorthodox practices obtaining amongst tribes supposed to have been originally Christian, are in fact to be referred either (1) to the primitive stratum of religion, which survives in superstitious practice among Christians no less than Mahommedans, or (2) to the *Shia* branch of the Mahommedan faith, which, though orthodox in Persia, is to the *Sunni* Turks quite as much outside the pale as the Christianity of the Armenians is to the Greek or *vice versa*.

It is probable that many Turkish tribes, passing through Northern Persia on their way westwards, first met with Islam in the *Shia* form, so that the *Shia* religion may be considered to some extent as the link between paganism and *Sunni* Mahommedanism. We can certainly point to a period during which a *Shia*, or at least a Persianising, form of Islam was prevalent, together with a culture derived almost exclusively from Persia, in Central Asia Minor.

Very considerable confusion has also arisen with regard to the heterodox tribes of Asia Minor owing to a vague and inaccurate use of tribal and other names. It has been more or less assumed that, whatever their original significance, the names Yourouk, Turcoman, Kyzylbash, Takhtadji, Bektash, etc., are on the same footing and have ethnological significance. An examination of what has been written on the tribes in question leads to the conclusion that some of these names denote, not ethnological, but religious and other divisions. Thus, of the names cited above, Yourouk<sup>1</sup> in itself denotes no more than the nomadic life of the tribes so designated, while Turcoman is a tribal name wrongly used to cover a much larger division of the population. Takhtadji ("woodcutter") is essentially a caste-name, Kyzylbash ("red-head") is a nickname for a widely distributed religious sect, while Bektash designates members of a religious organisation within that sect. So far from these categories being mutually exclusive, it would be possible for a single person to come under all of them.

<sup>1</sup> Tk. *youroumek* = to walk. The word "Yourouk" is first used, as far as I can discover, by Rycant (*Hist. of the Turks*, ii, 138; cf. Pococke, *Descr. of the East* II, ii, 108) of the nomads of the Troad.



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§ 2. THE YOUROUKS. — *Anatolian*

The term *Yourouk* has long been recognised by ethnologists as of very wide and vague application: in itself, as we have said, it signifies no more than “nomadic.” Dr. Tsakyrogious of Smyrna, whose profession has given him unusual opportunities for intimacy with the *Yourouks* of his *vilayet*, is the only writer who has dealt with the Anatolian *Yourouks* as a whole.<sup>1</sup> He enumerates no less than eighty-eight tribes of them, varying greatly in size and importance and distributed over all parts of Asia Minor.<sup>2</sup> His list, however, does not profess to be complete, though, if we except the short list of tribes in the Aidin *vilayet* given by Vambéry,<sup>3</sup> it is the only attempt to collect Anatolian tribal names. As the pamphlet containing this list is inaccessible, the list is given in full below,<sup>4</sup> together with some tribal names collected by Langlois in Cilicia, and, for comparison, a list of Turcoman tribes given to Niebuhr by Patrick Russell of Aleppo.

The *Yourouk* tribes (*ashiret*) bear for the most part personal names, presumably of ancestral chiefs, with or without the adjectival suffix *-li*. Examples are Dourgout, Ahmedli, Gueuk Mousali, Shichli. It is significant that the chief of the latter tribe bears the surname Shichli Baba Zade (“Son of Father Shichli”). Other tribes bear names apparently denoting their *habitat*, as Akdaghli (“of the White Mountain”), and Roumli, or characteristics as Katchar (“runners”), Tash-evli (“stonehouse men”), Boïni Indjeli (“slim-figured men”), Sari Ketchi-li (“men with yellow goats”).

Traces of early divisions of originally united tribes are probably to be seen in the numerous tribal names running in pairs, such as Selge- and Keles-Katchar,<sup>5</sup> Kara- and Sari-Tekkeli, Kyzyl- and Kara-Ketchili. Colour-epithets, such as *Kara* (“black”), *Ak* (“white”), *Kyzyl* (“red”), *Sari* (“yellow”), and *Gueuk* (“blue”) are probably in all cases taken from the natural colour or distinctive markings of the flocks of two divisions of the same tribe; this seems clear from the occurrence of such names as Ak-koyounlu (*white sheep* tribe), Aladja-koyounlu (*spotted sheep* tribe), Kyzyl-ketchili (*red goat* tribe), etc.

Some of the Anatolian tribe-names occur also further East, as Odemish in Merv<sup>6</sup> and Kengerlu in Transcaucasia.<sup>7</sup> From the Katchar tribe, which is also to be found

<sup>1</sup> *Περὶ Γιουρούκων* (pp. 40), Athens, 1891. There is also a French translation printed at Smyrna. [Another in German is said to exist in *Globus*, but I have failed to trace the reference.—M.M.H.]

<sup>2</sup> Tsakyrogious, *op. cit.*, 13 ff. and 22: in view of theories regarding the origin of the Zebeks, I note on the latter page the name *Zeibekli*: the significance of the name seems to be somewhat similar to that of Παλληκάρη in Greek (cf. von Diest, *Reisen und Forschungen*, i, 27).

<sup>3</sup> *Das Türkenvolk*, 606 (the names which do not figure in Tsakyrogious' list are marked by an asterisk): Selge Katchar\*, Keles Katchar, Kara Tekkeli, Sari Tekkeli, Satchi Karali, Eski Yourouk, Farsak, Kyzyl Ketchili, Kara Ketchili\*, Khorgoun, Bourkhan, Yel Aldi, Karin Karali\*, Karagatchli\*, Kirtish, Akdaghli, Narindjali, Djabar\*, Dâsh Evli, Chepni.

<sup>4</sup> P. 319 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Vambéry, *op. cit.*, 606; but according to Tsakyrogious, Koula Katchar, Keles Katchar and Ova Katchar are subdivisions (*mahallas*) of the same tribe.

<sup>6</sup> Tsakyrogious, 21.

<sup>7</sup> Vambéry, 572.



in Transcaucasia, was descended the late dynasty of Persia.<sup>1</sup> Nadir Shah was of the Afshar tribe of Khorassan, with which the Anatolian Afshars claim kinship.<sup>2</sup> Of the Yourouk tribes in the Aidin *vilayet* enumerated by Vambéry, the Bourkhan, Narindjali, and Kirtish still exist among the Central Asian Turcomans. Baiandir is a subdivision of the Golden tribe.<sup>3</sup>

A very large proportion of the tribal names can be found also on the map of Asia Minor as village names, presumably denoting places where tribes or portions of tribes have settled. Examples are Baindir, Ushak, Odemish, Kenger, Tourgoutlou, and many others.

Though most of these tribes are pastoral, some are addicted to other callings: the Katchar and Varsak are camel-men, many of the Yourouks of Mount Ida are woodcutters, the Abdal, whom von Luschan identifies with the gypsies, a beggar caste.<sup>4</sup> Other tribes are distinguished by their skill in certain crafts, as the Turkmen, Harmandali, and Zili in carpet-weaving, and the Kenger of Adala (near Koula in Lydia) in massage.<sup>5</sup>

The head of the tribe is called Bey or Sheikh.<sup>6</sup> The tribe is subdivided into kabilehs ("clans") or mahallas ("quarters," "wards"), the latter a word in common use as a division of a town among the settled populations. Divisions of the same tribe are found in widely-separated districts in Asia Minor: evidence of such splitting up is to be found in the occurrence of certain tribal-names all over the map. On the other hand, some tribes have a well-defined area within which their settlements are thickly planted. Of this the Afshar tribe of the Taurus affords a notable instance.<sup>7</sup> Similarly, the original home of the Farsak tribe in Asia Minor seems to have been the mountainous region North-West of Selefké which bears their name.<sup>8</sup> But scattered units of both tribes, to judge by the evidence of the map, wandered far.

The languages current among the Yourouks are varied. They are mostly rough dialects of Turkish, among which those of Azerbaijan and Jagatai have been recognised.<sup>9</sup> Dr. Chasseaud of Smyrna tells me he has found that Yourouks from different parts (presumably of the Aidin *vilayet*), even when they acknowledge kinship, are unable to understand each other. Tsakyroglous says, further, that some tribes speak Kurdish, *i.e.* probably, that some nomads are Kurds, and that the Abdal speak a language of their own.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Vambéry, 572, 577.

<sup>2</sup> Vambéry, 607.

<sup>3</sup> Vambéry, 394.

<sup>4</sup> Tsakyroglous, *op. cit.*, 19. Vambéry (p. 391) found a subdivision of a Central Asian Turcoman tribe so named.

<sup>5</sup> Tsakyroglous, 21.

<sup>6</sup> Tsakyroglous, 17.

<sup>7</sup> Grothe, *Vorderasiene Expedition*, ii, 135 and map. See also Ramsay, *Impressions*, 108 ff.; Tschihatscheff, *Reisen*, 14; Skene, *Anadol*, 184; van Lennep, *Travels in Asia Minor*, ii, 96.

<sup>8</sup> Hadji Khalfa, tr. Armain, 665.

<sup>9</sup> Tsakyroglous, *op. cit.*, 22.

<sup>10</sup> Tsakyroglous, 26, where samples are given.

313  
Yourouk

Katchar  
G. Khan

Abdal  
gypsies  
Harmand

Afshar  
Farsak





As to the religion of the Yourouks, on which subject they are extremely reticent, very varied accounts have been given. Humann speaks of them in Western Asia Minor as entirely without religion.<sup>1</sup> Drs. Tsakyroglous and Chasseaud, with their more intimate knowledge, concur in considering them (negatively) heretical. Some nomad tribes are certainly *Shia*,<sup>2</sup> while the Yourouks of Lycia are reported by Bent to be good *Sunni* Mahommedans.<sup>3</sup> These discrepant accounts are intelligible only when we realise that the Yourouks are not a homogeneous race, but a collection of tribes and sub-tribes which, originally pagan, have fallen to a greater or less degree under various missionary influences.

It is generally reported of Yourouks that circumcision is not usually practised among them, and that when the operation is performed from motives of policy, they prefer that it should not be done by a *Sunni* in orthodox fashion. A similar prejudice is implied by the story quoted by Tsakyroglous<sup>4</sup> from the Turkish newspaper *Hakikat* to the effect that a Jew from the Dardanelles is habitually invited by the Yourouks of Mount Ida to perform for them some ritual act at marriages. This is probably a confusion, the same word (*duyun*) being commonly used by the Turks both for marriage and circumcision (properly *sunnet*).<sup>5</sup>

Dr. Chasseaud tells me that when he has operated on Yourouks the feast was made several days after, and a *hodja* duly invited. It was then explained to the latter that the operation had been already performed, and his scruples silenced by a present of money. The object of this manoeuvre is probably to ensure the proper disposal of the part amputated in order that it may not come into the wrong hands.<sup>6</sup> Similarly, Dr. Chasseaud tells me both Yourouk women and

<sup>1</sup> *Verhandlungen Ges. f. Erdkunde*, 1880, 248.

<sup>2</sup> C. B. Elliott, *Travels*, ii, 107 (Turcomans near Akhissar); Hadji Khalfa, tr. Armain, 656 (Turcomans near Trebizond); *ibid.*, 683 (*liva* of Bozouk = Kirshehr). The Afshars are *Sunni* (Karolides, *Tà Kómana*, 42) but do not veil women.

<sup>3</sup> *J. R. Anthr. Inst.*, xx, 274; cf. von Luschan, *Lykien*, ii, 216.

<sup>4</sup> *Περὶ Γιουρούκων*, 32.

<sup>5</sup> So apparently in India the Persian word for marriage (*shadi*) is used for both ceremonies (Hastings, *Dict. of Religion*, s.v. *Circumcision*, 678). For the performance of the operation by non-Musulmans, see the same article, p. 677.

<sup>6</sup> Hastings (*Dict. of Religion*, s.v. *Circumcision*, p. 678) says "the *exuviae* seem generally to be burned or buried, sometimes in a mosque." At an imperial circumcision in 1582 the part amputated was presented in a golden box to the Queen Mother (de Vigenère, *Illustr. sur Chalcondyle*, 271, in de Mezeray's *Hist. des Turcs*, ii). In the seventeenth century the Turks burnt it (Aaron Hill, *Account of Turkey*, 47). Among Persians of the same date *aut gallinis edendum dabatur aut a feminis sterilibus spe progeniei consumebatur* (Raphael du Mans, *Estat de Perse*, ed. Schefer, 77). Scarlatos Byzantios in the middle of the last century, writes: "Τὸ ἀπομνηθὲν μέρος ἀπτεται ἢ φέρεται ὡς φυλακῆριον ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς ὑπὸ τοῦ νεοφωτίστου" (*Κωνσταντινούπολις*, iii, 485). Osman Bey states that the part amputated is presented to the parents on a plate, where they in return place the customary gifts (*Les Imans et les Derviches*, 121). The magic power of the part in question is thus proved: it might be used actively as a charm or merely put out of harm's way. The modern Turks in towns are said to be very careless in the matter, doubtless regarding the superstitions concerned as old wives' tales: hence possibly the scruples of the Yourouks, who are still punctilious in the matter.



Turkish midwives in towns are exceedingly scrupulous that the *placenta* should be properly disposed of.<sup>1</sup> Some Cappadocian Greeks hide the umbilical cord of new-born children in a chink in the wall of church or school, which ensures that the child grows up devout or learned.<sup>2</sup> It is natural to compare the similar superstitions about nail-parings and extracted teeth.<sup>3</sup>

When a *Sunni* preacher visits the Yourouk villages of Mount Ida during Ramazan, he is lodged in the best tent and royally entertained, but induced by a present of money to abstain from meddling with the Yourouks' ceremonies and from preaching and teaching.<sup>4</sup>

All this merely shows that the tribes in question are not *Sunni*. Little has been extracted from them as to the positive side of their religion. According to Dr. Chasseaud, the Yourouks have an initiation ceremony corresponding to circumcision at which he has himself been present, though he was unable to see what took place. Further, their holy places—called, as all over Turkey, *dedes*—are frequently trees or bushes, not remarkable to the outside observer, which they hang with rags; certain springs, also not outwardly remarkable, are held sacred. On two occasions Dr. Chasseaud, when in the company of Yourouks, was prevented by them from drawing water at such springs, though the *tabu* did not extend to the Yourouks themselves. A Yourouk mountain-cult with a festival on August 15th on the summit of Ida and vaguely connected with two giants (male and female), to whom small offerings of money are made, has come under my own observation.<sup>5</sup> These hints, so far as they go, point to a primitive animistic religion slightly touched with anthropomorphism.

The Lycian Yourouks (as opposed to the heretical Takhtadji) are regarded by both Bent<sup>6</sup> and von Luschan<sup>7</sup> as good *Sunni* Mahommedans: they have *hodjas*, the Koran, and circumcision, say their five prayers, eschew pork and wine, and make pilgrimage to Mecca. In villages they assimilate themselves to the settled

<sup>1</sup> On the importance attached to the *placenta* in Egypt and elsewhere, see Seligmann in *Man*, 1911, 168, and in *Ridgeway Essays*, 451. For Turkey, cf. Abbott, *Macedonian Folklore*, 123.

<sup>2</sup> Pharasopoulos, *Tà Σύλατα*, 41.

<sup>3</sup> Frazer (*Taboo and the Perils of the Soul*, 267 ff.) shows that superstitious care in the disposal of nails and teeth is world-wide, the original idea being to prevent their malicious use by sorcerers. In Bosnia nail-parings are placed where contact with unclean things is not likely, in fountains, in the earth, or in a mosque (*Wiss. Mitth. aus Bosnien*, vii, 279). For the superstition in Asia Minor, see White, *Trans. Vict. Inst.*, xxxix (1907), 159; de Bunsen, *Soul of a Turk*, 147; Aucher-Eloy, *Voyages*, 71 (hole in mosque wall at Angora used for extracted teeth and toothache so cured); in Macedonia, Abbott, *Macedonian Folklore*, 214; in Lesbos, Georgeakis et Pincau, *Folk-Lore de Lesbos*, 331.

<sup>4</sup> *Hakikat*, ap. Tsakyroglous, 32; cf. for Persian nomads Malcolm, *Hist. of Persia*, ii, 433.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Leaf in *Geog. Jour.* xl, 1912, 37. The date seems at first sight to be a link with Christianity, but it should be noted that the same day is a witches' feast in Georgia (N. W. Thomas in *Man*, 1901, 57) and a Bektashi feast in Albania (Degrand *Haute Albanie*, 234).

<sup>6</sup> *J. R. Anthr. Inst.*, xx, 274.

<sup>7</sup> *Lykien*, ii, 216.





population, though intermarriage is rare.<sup>1</sup> *Sunni* propaganda, as we have seen, exists among the Yourouks of Ida: it is said to have made great strides elsewhere, especially in the Konia *vilayet*.<sup>2</sup> The Yourouks of Lycia are probably of comparatively recent conversion.

Of the *Shia* heresy there is little or no trace except among the confessedly "Kyzylbash" tribes,<sup>3</sup> which we shall discuss at length<sup>4</sup>; we do not know whether *Shia* missionaries are at work among the pagan nomads. Nor are there any positive traces of Christianity, though the idea is widely, if vaguely, current. The evidence we have points to the conclusion that, except where they have been affected by *Shia* or *Sunni* propaganda, the Yourouk tribes are "primitive" in religion; further, that by race and speech they are largely Turkish, and may be regarded as still unsettled fragments of the nomad hordes which strayed into Asia Minor in the Middle Ages.

The Turks, before they left their home in Central Asia, worshipped the sky-god (Tañri)<sup>5</sup> and spirits of earth and water; they had no priestly caste.<sup>6</sup> That ancestor-worship developed early is clear from the present comprehensive use of *dede* (lit. "grandfather") to describe any holy place<sup>7</sup>: gaining ground, possibly because more or less permitted in Islam, it seems to have been fused with the original elements of their religion, and especially with the cult of "high places," originally doubtless the places where the sky-god was worshipped, especially for rain.<sup>8</sup> We consequently find that mountains in Turkey frequently bear human names, which are, or are said to be, those of saints. When these saints' names

<sup>1</sup> Von Luschan, *Lykien*, ii, 216.

<sup>2</sup> Tsakyroglous, *Περὶ Γιουρούκων*, 35.

<sup>3</sup> I here note the frequency of the name Haider among Yourouks, perhaps a link with the Kyzylbash. The Yourouks are said by the writer of the *Hakikat* article to drink wine, which is still negative evidence of Shiism, and to be visited yearly by an itinerant holy man (? from Syria), which is true of the Lycian Kyzylbash and may be merely a confusion.

<sup>4</sup> Below, p. 327 ff. Some include the Tchepni in this category; see Oberhummer, *Durch Kleinasien*, 393. Wilson in *J.R.G.S.*, 1884, 314, calls them Nosairi by religion. See also von Diest, *Reisen und Forschungen*, i, 27.

<sup>5</sup> On the word see Vambéry, *Prim. Kultur des Turko-Tatarischen Volkes*, 240 ff. This seems to have been the current word for "God" in Turkish till quite a late date, cf. Schiltberger, ed. Hakluyt, 74, ed. Penzel, 149; Leunclavius, *Pandectes*, § 177; Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.*, iv, 64. It occurs frequently in the modern folk-tales collected by Kunos.

<sup>6</sup> Eliot, *Turkey in Europe*, 79. The latter is still true of the nomads. The first Turkish ruler to embrace Islam is said to have been Satok Bogra, Khan of Turkestan, died 1048 (Grenard in *Journ. Asiat.*, xv, 1900, 5 ff.).

<sup>7</sup> Bent in *Report British Assoc.*, 1889 (Newcastle), Sect. H, p. 3, says tribes of Azerbaijan (the district through which the Turks came into Asia Minor) are governed by hereditary chiefs, supposed to descend from a tribal holy man (*pir*): the grave of the *pir* is shown at the summer quarters of the tribe. For *dede* with the meaning of *numen*, cf. Ramsay, *Pauline Studies*, 172.

<sup>8</sup> This custom is preserved among the *Shia* Turks (Kyzylbash) of Pontus (White in *Trans. Vict. Inst.* xxxix (1907), 154). They have also a festival at the summer solstice held on mountain tops.



are also those of tribes, it seems probable that they are regarded as the eponymous ancestors of the tribes concerned. In tribes still without a priestly caste the tribal chief is the natural person to invoke the sky-god on behalf of the tribe, and the eventual confusion between the sky-god who sends rain and the tribal chief whose prayers induce him to send it, is merely the confusion between deity and intercessor which is familiar enough in Christendom.

The rainmaker-sheikh and the magician or dervish are hardly distinguishable, so that we are not surprised if Tour Hassan *Veli*, the saint of the Hassan Dagħ in Cappadocia, and his tribesmen are said in folk-tales to have been dervishes,<sup>1</sup> or if Ibn Batuta<sup>2</sup> says of Baba Saltuk, the tribal saint of a group of Crimean Tartars, that he was "said to have been a diviner."

Tour Hassan seems really an historical figure known by a lucky accident to have been a petty prince ruling part of Cappadocia about 1100 A.D.<sup>3</sup> The name of his tribe survives in Tour Hassanli, a village near Kirshehr, the word being formed, like the majority of tribal names in Tsakyrogious' list, by adding *-li* to the name of the eponymous chief. Of Saltuk before he became involved in the Bektashi legend, we know less, but here again the tribal name Saltaklu seems to be preserved at a village near Baba Eski in Thrace and possibly in Asia Minor.<sup>4</sup>

The tribe of Mentesh, which eventually gave its name to the *kaza* of Moughla in Caria, can be traced by villages bearing its name from the Sivas district westward across Asia Minor. The eponym Mentesh figures in tradition<sup>5</sup> as the brother of Hadji Bektash, who was himself before the usurpation of his tomb by the Houroufi sect,<sup>6</sup> no more than a tribal ancestor. Bektashli is a fairly common village-name in the district round his tomb and occurs sporadically so far west as Cape Lectum.<sup>7</sup> Not only Bektash himself but many of the "seven hundred dervishes" of his cycle, who came with him from Khorassan at the bidding of Khodja Achmet of Yassi for the conversion of Roum,<sup>8</sup> must have been tribal heroes of the same kind.

This grouping round tribal leaders seems to be the basis of the early Turkish polity: the tribal tie was not always one of blood, since powerful tribes or leaders included under their own name less important allies. The tribe known from its leader as Osmanli was a political combination of this sort, and is said to have been

<sup>1</sup> Carnoy et Nicolaides, *Trad. Pop. de l'Asie Mineure*, 212 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Tr. Sanguinetti, ii, 416, 445.

<sup>3</sup> Anna Comnena, xiv, 1; cf. also Tomaschek, *Sber. Wien. Akad., Phil. Hist. Cl.*, cxxiv (1891), viii, 85.

<sup>4</sup> See *B.S.A.*, xix, 205.

<sup>5</sup> Ashik Pasla Zade in Brown, *The Dervishes*, 141.

<sup>6</sup> Jacob, *Die Bektaschijje*, 19 (in *Abh. k. Bayr. Ak.*, xxiv, 1909).

<sup>7</sup> This village is at least as early as the seventeenth century, being mentioned in the British Museum MS. Harl. 7021, f. 422 *verso*.

<sup>8</sup> Evliya, *Travels*, tr. von Hammer, ii, 70 ff.





composed of seven tribes, of which at least one (the Farsak<sup>1</sup>) still exists independently as a Yourouk tribe. A similar political grouping in recent times is that of the Shahsavand Kurds, which was formed artificially and purely for political reasons by Shah Abbas of Persia in the seventeenth century.<sup>2</sup> Such probably was the grouping of tribes round the Seljouk dynasty, which succeeded in attaining to a considerable degree of material civilisation and political cohesion, dominating the greater part of Asia Minor.

When the central power became weakened, however, the combination disintegrated into smaller territorial units, resting probably on similar tribal groupings, which kept their names in some cases for many centuries.<sup>3</sup> The province of Tekke (Adalia) is a notable instance. Tekke or Tekkeli is a "Yourouk" tribe in Asia Minor to this day<sup>4</sup>—the name occurs also in Central Asia—and the Tekke-oglou, descendants or reputed descendants of the tribal eponym, were still important *derebeys* in the Adalia district as late as the reforms of Mahmoud II.<sup>5</sup>

Down to the reforms and centralisation of the early nineteenth century the nomad tribes were allowed a great deal of liberty and were administered by their own *beys*,<sup>6</sup> occasionally by strangers appointed from Constantinople.<sup>7</sup> They seem to have been turbulent and easily excited to rebellion. Their risings were often fomented by *sheikhs*, probably Persian emissaries sent over the frontier to embarrass the Sultan.

In the wooded mountains of Anatolia and in the steppe land of the central plateau, notably in the districts of Bozouk (Kirshehr) and Haimaneh, where the natural conditions—thin soil and lack of water—are against permanent settlement the Yourouks have been able to maintain themselves in compact masses without abandoning their primitive social conditions: the mountaineers turn to wood-cutting and the men of the plains to herding.

<sup>1</sup> Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.*, i, 361.

<sup>2</sup> Bent, *Report Brit. Ass.*, 1889 (Newcastle), Sect. H, p. 3.

<sup>3</sup> Kyzyl Ahmedli (in Paphlagonia) and Mentesh (in Lycia) are probable examples. In 1564 the Venetian *Relazioni* (Alberi, ser. III, vol. ii, 19) mention as leading families in Asia Minor the Kyzyl Ahmedli (Paphlagonia), Diercanli (Saroukhan?), Durcadurli (Zoulkadir), and Ramadanli (Cilicia).

<sup>4</sup> Settled according to Tsakyroglou, *Περὶ Τουρούκων*, 15, about Nazli in the Aidin *vilayet*: see below, p. 321.

<sup>5</sup> Cuinet, *Turquie d'Asie*, i, 860; W. Turner, *Tour in Levant*, iii, 386; Beaufort, *Karamania*, 118 ff.; Cockerell, *Travels*, 182.

<sup>6</sup> Leunclavius, *Pandectes*, § 61; a "chief of the tribes," Tourgout, is mentioned as a feudatory of the Karamanoglou dynasty in the time of Mourad II (1421–1451) by Hammer (*Hist. Emp. Ott.*, ii, 288). The Yourouks of Roumeli in the eighteenth century supplied a contingent of 57,000 troops under their own leaders (Perry, *View of the Levant*, 48).

<sup>7</sup> A Circassian, Abaza Hassan, was appointed Voivode of the Anatolian Turcomans (see below, p. 324) in the seventeenth century (Hammer-Hellert, *op. cit.*, x, 300). Abaza Hassan's palace at the modern Vezir Kupru is mentioned by Hadji Khalfa, *tr. Armain*, 683.



Various attempts have been made to break up their solidarity and wean them to settled life, the first by the importation of Kurds,<sup>1</sup> the second by the formation of town-centres. Many towns of the districts mentioned seem to be of recent origin and artificial foundation. Ak Serai is a Seljouk foundation of 1171,<sup>2</sup> Nevshehr was founded by Damad Ibrahim in 1720,<sup>3</sup> and Yuzgat, the capital of the Tchapanoglou, dates from the eighteenth century.<sup>4</sup> The two latter certainly are not spontaneous growths but artificial settlements.<sup>5</sup>

The more backward tribes are still nomadic in the restricted sense—that is, they have definite summer pasturages and fixed winter quarters, between which they alternate.<sup>6</sup> The winter quarters tend gradually to become fixed villages, and despite the mutual antipathies of “Turk” and “Yourouk,” some tribes are said to be absorbed by towns.<sup>7</sup> But government pressure has not yet succeeded in weaning the Yourouks from their old life and their conversion to Islam is also incomplete.

In view of all we have said, it would be surprising not to find among these heterogeneous tribes great diversity in physical type, as well as customs and religion, within the restrictions imposed on them by their manner of life, and future investigators will perhaps do best to consider the tribes known as “Yourouk” more as separate units than has been done hitherto. Their apparent and obvious similarities, such as the absence of mosques, relatively high status of women,<sup>8</sup> and hospitality, are probably due to the habits of life shared by the whole group irrespective of race.

#### ADDENDUM.

*Yourouk Tribes* according to Tsakyroglous, *Περὶ Γιουρούκων*, 13 ff.

(a) In the north-west portion of the *vilayet* :—

*Ahmedli* : part at Koula, part at Simav in the adjoining *vilayet* of Brusa.

*Altıdji* (Ἀλτσὶ) : about Attala as far as At-alan.

*Anamasli* : in the *kaza* of Demirdji. It has 50 tents and 70 houses (*dam*), 16,000 beasts, and pays 15,000 p. in *verghi*.

<sup>1</sup> The Kurds of the Haimaneh district are *Sunni* (Cuiet, *Turquie d'Asie*, i, 253).

<sup>2</sup> It was founded by Kilidj Arslan in 1171 (Le Strange, *Eastern Caliphate*, 149).

<sup>3</sup> Hammer, *Hist. Emp. Ott.*, ed. Hellert, xiv, 190. Damad Ibrahim was Vizir 1718–1730 (Hammer, *op. cit.*, xiii, 336, xiv, 225).

<sup>4</sup> W. J. Hamilton, *Researches in Asia Minor*, i, 387, speaks of Yuzgat as being “ninety years old.” There was another attempt in the fifties to settle nomad Kurds near Yuzgat (H. J. Ross, *Letters from the East*, 248).

<sup>5</sup> None of these towns is an important centre at the present day, and in antiquity the districts in question contained no towns of great note.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. the nomads of Adana, who winter there and summer at Cæsarea (Langlois, *Cilicie*, 23).

<sup>7</sup> Ramsay, *Impressions*, 101.

<sup>8</sup> Women are not veiled even among *Sunni* tribes : this is categorically stated by Karolides of the Afshar (Τὰ Κόμματα, 42) ; the veiling of women is not an original Turkish usage.





*Arapli* : about Salihli, and extends into the *vilayet* of Brusa.

*Farsak* : all over the *vilayet* of Aidin. It is a very rich and populous tribe, counting 1,200 families.

*Gueuk Mousali* : in *kaza* of Demirdji, above the village of Indjikler. It has 50 houses and 50 tents.

*Hourzoum*<sup>1</sup> : in the *vilayets* of Aidin and Brusa.

*Ivalli* : about Karneit : it possesses 22 tents.

*Kara Tekkeli* : winters about Smyrna.

*Katchar* : at Serge and Alashehr, extending south as far as Nazli. A large and important tribe divided into *mahallas*, Koula-Katchar, Keles-Katchar, Ova-Katchar, etc.<sup>2</sup>

*Kombatch* : about Soma.

*Kyzyl Ketchili* : at Prinar-Kiov, in the *mudirlik* of Selenti (Koula). It has 800 tents, 60,000 beasts, and pays 60,000 piastres taxes.

*Manavli* : between Alashehr and Salihli and in the *vilayet* of Brusa.

*Narindjali* : *kaza* of Koula, in the neighbourhood of Omour Baba Dag up to Denizli.

*Saratch* : between Ushağ and Esme.

*Sari Tekkeli* : between Nazli and Denizli, and in the *vilayet* of Brusa.

*Shehidli* : *kaza* of Koula. It has 60 houses.

*Shichli* : winters at Uluborlu, summers at Afioun Kara Hissar. It is divided into ten *kabilés* (including Arpat-shichli, Kisat-shichli, Hadjiseli), possesses 70–80 tents and 200 houses, and pays 15,000 piastres taxes.

*Tchakal* : in the *sandjak* of Saroukhan.

*Tcharik* : in the *kaza* of Koula.

*Yaghdji Bendirli* (or *Yangdji Bendir*) : Soma and the *vilayet* of Brusa.

(b) South-western and other districts of Aidin *vilayet* :—

*Abdal* : Uluborlu and elsewhere.

*Akdaghli* : about Nazli.

*Ak-kozali*.

*Aladja Koyunlu* : up to Konia.

*Allah-Abeli* : *sandjak* of Saroukhan.

*Beylikli*.

*Boïni-indjeli*.

*Bourkhan* : also in *vilayet* of Brusa.

*Dede Karkinli* : *sandjak* of Saroukhan.

*Deridji* : *vilayets* of Aidin and Brusa.

*Djerit* : about Nazli.

*Dosouti* : Arapli.

<sup>1</sup> Vambéry's Khorgoun.

<sup>2</sup> Vambéry adds Selge Katchar.



*Eski Yourouk.*

*Eshpek* (Ἑσπέκ).

*Geigel.*

*Gerinisi* : Nazli to Moughla.

*Gushdji* : Nazli.

*Guzel-beyli* : about Nazli.

*Harmandali.*

*Hartal.*

*Ignedji* (Ἰγνετζί) : *sandjak* of Saroukhan.

*Imir-haridji* : *sandjak* of Saroukhan.

*Karafakoglou* : *vilayets* of Aidin and Brusa.

*Karamanli* : Nazli to Isbarta.

*Karayaghdjili.*

*Kilaz.*

*Kioseler* : Nazli.

*Kirtiz*.<sup>1</sup>

*Kislilerli* : *sandjak* of Saroukhan.

*Kodja-Beyli* : *vilayets* of Aidin and Brusa.

*Kyzyl-Issikli* : also in the *vilayet* of Brusa.

*Mousarlarli* : *sandjak* of Saroukhan.

*Mouzan* : also in *vilayet* of Brusa.

*Omourlu.*

*Rachman.*

*Saadji-Karali* (Σαατζὶ Καραλί)<sup>2</sup> : about Nazli.

*Sari-Ketchili.*

*Tash Evli.*

*Tchambar* : *vilayets* of Aidin and Brusa.

*Tchipni* : an important tribe, scattered all over the Aidin *vilayet*.

*Tchitmi.*

*Tekkeli* : Nazli.

*Teradji.*

*Yataganli* : about Karagatch.

*Yel-aldi.*

(c) Mainly in *vilayet* of Konia :—

*Dourgout* : important tribe, perhaps Mongolian.

*Piroglou.*

*Risfan.*

*Roumeli* or *Ouroumli.*

*Tapanli*....

<sup>1</sup> Vambéry's *Kirtish*.

<sup>2</sup> *Satchi Karali* in Vambéry.





*Terkiani.*

*Turkmen.*

(d) Exclusively in *vilayet* of Adana :—

*Berber.*

*Karsant.*<sup>1</sup>

*Menemendji.*<sup>1</sup>

*Sirkentili.*<sup>1</sup>

Additional (*habitat* not specified) :—

*Barakli.*

*Imrazli.*

*Kalabak.*

*Karandirlik.*

*Ketchili.*

*Mersinli.*

*Nihar.*

*Tarazli.*

*Tchamban.*

*Tchebrekli* (Kurds).

*Zeïbekli.*

*Yourouks of Cilicia* according to Langlois, *Voyage en Cilicie*, p. 21 ff. :—

**TARSUS :**

Baxis and H. Hassanoglou with 300 H.

Kalaounlu with 30 H.

Karakaïalu with 700 T.

Kara-tekeli with 150 H.

Melemendji with 3,000 H.

Pouran and Moustapha-bey with 200 T.

Sortan and Kudjuoglou with 500 H.

Tekeli with 600 H.

Thoroglou with 300 H.

**ADANA :**

Bousdagan with 1,400 T.

Daoundarlu with 200 T.

Djerid with 1,200 T.

Farsak<sup>2</sup> with 800.

Kara-hadjelu with 500 H.

Karitinlu with 100 T.

<sup>1</sup> These are, according to Grothe (*Vorderasiene expedition*, ii, 145), subdivisions of the Afshar tribe.

<sup>2</sup> Mentioned also by Bertrandon de la Brocquière, p. 8.



*Yourouks of Cilicia*—continued.

## ADANA—continued.

Kerim-oglou with 2,500 T.

Khozanoglou with 500 H.

Sarkanteli-oglou with 800 T.

Tadgerlu with 1,200 T.

## MARASH :

Djedjale with 200 T.

Hadji Kouyouunlu with 120 T.

Klisle with 400 T.

*Kurds of Cilicia*<sup>1</sup> (*ibid.*):—

## ADANA (at CÆSAREA in summer) :

Afchar with 3,000 T.

Karalar with 600 T.

Karsanteli with 1,300 T.

Lek with 150 T.

For comparison I add the list of sub-tribes of the Afshars given by H. Grothe<sup>2</sup>:*Awschar.**Beisgitli.**Bosdan.*<sup>3</sup>*Djedjeli Salmanly.**Djerid.**Farsak.**Hadji Mustafa Ali-Uschak.**Hadji Mustafa Redje Uschak.**Hodjan Ali.**Hür-Uschak.**Jaidji-usch.**Karsanty.**Kekili Uschak.**Kirli.**Kosan.**Melemendji.**Schabbach.**Tedjerli.**Torun.*<sup>1</sup> Some Kurds are pagan, some are *Sunni*, and some are said to be Yezidi (Langlois, *loc. cit.*, p. 23).<sup>2</sup> *Vorderasienerpedition*, ii, 145, n. 2.<sup>3</sup> [Sometimes written Bosdaghan.—M.M.H.]





## § 3. THE TURCOMANS.

The word Turkmen (Turcoman) seems properly applied to an important tribe of the Yourouk group. This tribe is widely distributed, being found in the districts of the Bithynian Olympus, Dineir, Konia, Sivas and even Cyprus.<sup>1</sup> Dr. Chasseaud considers that the term denotes a markedly Mongolian type and is synonymous with Tartar.<sup>2</sup> The Turkmens with whom he is acquainted are herdsmen by calling, not rich, and frequently serving others.

This tallies with the account given by Burckhardt<sup>3</sup> of the Turcomans he knew. He divides them into five main tribes, namely, the "Ryhanlu" with thirteen sub-tribes, the "Jerid" with six sub-tribes, the "Pehlivanlu," the "Rishwans" with four sub-tribes, and the "Karashukli." Of these, the "Karashukli" are a mixed tribe of Turcomans and Arabs, living near Bir on the Euphrates. The Pehlivanli are the most numerous, while both the Djerid and the Rishwans are more numerous than the Rihanli, who have 3,000 tents, each containing two to fifteen inmates, and muster 2,510 horsemen all told. The Pehlivanli and the Rihanli are tributary to the Tchapanoglou, the Djerid to the governors of Badjazze (Baïas ?) and Adana, between which they live. The Rishwans also are now tributary to the Tchapanoglou, though formerly to the governor of Besna (Behesneh ?) near Aintab. The Pehlivanli drive sheep as far as Constantinople, and their camels form almost exclusively the caravans of Smyrna and the interior of Anatolia. The Rishwans are notorious liars. If Rihanli families dislike their chief, they join another tribe. Some of the Pehlivanli have long been cultivators, but the Rihanli employ *fellahs* to cultivate for them.

But the word has for long had a wider signification, exactly corresponding to the ordinary use of the word Yourouk, i.e. it denotes nomadic as opposed to settled Turks. The word is found with this meaning as early as Cinnamus<sup>4</sup> and is still so used by the modern Turks.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Tsakyroglous, *op. cit.*, 11.

<sup>2</sup> So Tsakyroglous, 34, von Luschan, *J. R. Anthr. Inst.*, xli, 227, and van Lennep, *Travels in Asia Minor*, i, 296.

<sup>3</sup> *Travels in Syria*, App. I, pp. 633 ff.

<sup>4</sup> P. 121r: cf. Ducange's note *ad loc.*; Leunclavius, *Pandectes*, § 61; Ramsay, *Hist. Geog.* 213, and *Cit. and Bish.*, 696.

<sup>5</sup> Tsakyroglous (*op. cit.* 11) says that the words "Turkmen," "Yourouk," "Götchebeh" (Tk. *götc̄h etmek* = to move house; Kotehe is the Turcoman word for nomad according to Vambéry, *op. cit.* 385) are used by the Turks indiscriminately for nomads, except that the last implies a tribe on the move. Turks and Turkomans are distinguished by Hadji Khalfa, tr. Armain, 690.



## ADDENDUM.

P. Russell's list of *Turcoman tribes*, as published in Niebuhr's *Voyage en Arabie*, ii, 336 ff.<sup>1</sup>

In country of Sivas and Angora :—

*Aghsje Kiunchi* [*Akdje Koyounlou*] : 500 T.

*Auschir* [*Avshar*] : 500 T.

*Beherli* : 1,000 T.

*Dsjerid* [*Djerid*] : 500 T.

*Kudsjikli* [*Koutchouklou*] : 10,000 T.

*Lek* : 1,000 T.

*Pehlivanli* : 15,000 T.

*Scham Biadli* : 500 T.

In Sivas district :—

*Dsjefrghanli* [*Djafferghananli*] : 200 T.

*Filebekli* [*Ilbekli*] : 2,000 T. (half in Aleppo district).

*Irak* : 1,000 T. (summer at Sivas, winter at Zor).

*Kulindsjefli* : 500 T.

*Rihanli* : 2,000 T. (summer at Sivas, winter at Aleppo).

*Sufulir* [*Sofoular*] : 500 T.

In Angora district :—

*Burenik* : 12,000 T.

In Aintab district :—

*Dade Kirkan* : 100 T.

*Dindischli* : 500 T.

*Ditumli* : 3,000 T.

*Dsjadsjeli* [*Djadjeli*] : 1,000 T.

*Kirsak* : 2,000 T.

*Musa Beikli* [*Musa Beyikli*] : 500 T.

In Cæsarea district :—

*Dadli* : 200 T. (summer at Cæsarea, winter in Urfa *pashalik*).

*Karadsjekerd* [*Karadja Kurd*] : 500 T.

*Kuluk* [*Koulak*] : 200 T. (summer at Cæsarea, winter at Adana).

<sup>1</sup> [Niebuhr complains of the difficulty he had experienced in making out the list because Russell had sent him no transcription of the Turkish names and he himself knew no Turkish. To facilitate use of the list in connection with the article by readers with no knowledge of Turkish I have sometimes inserted in square brackets a transcription more in harmony than Niebuhr's with the spelling usually adopted by my husband. In some cases, however, the Turkish names are too corrupt even for a rough rendering. Professor Margoliouth has kindly checked my transcriptions.—M.M.H.]





In Aleppo district :—

*Aulischli* [*Aulashli*] : 200 T.

In Damascus district :—

*Kabeli* : 1,000 T.

*Kara Kojunli* [*K. Koyounlou*] : 500 T.

Syria, mostly Damascus *pashalik* :—

*Aiali* : 1,000 T.

*Asehdiuli* [*Azedinli*] : 500 T.

*Ausferli* [*Auzarli*] : 1,000 T.

*Eilner* [*Imir*] : 500 T.

*Fidsjeli* : 200 T.

*Kikli* [*Geikli*] : 2,000 T.

*Saradsjäller* [*Saradjalar*] : 500 T.

*Scherefli* : 500 T.

*Tuchtamarli* : 500 T.

In Urfu *pashalik* :—

*Baujindir* [*Baindir*] : 300 T.

*Bekdeli* : 12,000 T.

*Mahmalenli* : 500 T.

List of Turcoman tribes according to Burckhardt.<sup>1</sup>

(a) *Rihanli* : 3,000 tents : north-west of Aleppo : winter in Antioch plain, summer in mountains of Gorun and Albistan.

*Sub-tribes of Rihanli* :—

*Aoutshar* : 20 horsemen.

*Bahaderlu* : 100 horsemen : mountains of S. Simon.

*Cheuslu* : 200 horsemen : from Badjazze (Baïas ?).

*Coudanlut* : 600 horsemen.

*Delikanli* : 600 horsemen.

*Hallalu* : 60 horsemen.

*Kara Ahmelli* : 150 horsemen.

*Kara Soleimanlu* : 50 horsemen.

*Karken* : 20 horsemen.

*Leuklu* : 100 horsemen.

*Okugu* : 50 horsemen.

*Serigialar*<sup>2</sup> : 500 horsemen : Maden.

*Toroun* : 60 horsemen.

<sup>1</sup> *Travels in Syria*, 633 ff.

<sup>2</sup> [Niebuhr's *Saradjalar*.—M.M.H.]



List of Turcoman Tribes—*continued.*

- (b) *Djerid* : between Badjazze (Baiaş ?) and Adana : winter in plains, summer in the Armenian mountains.

*Sub-tribes of Djerid* :—*Aoutshar.**Bosdagan.**Karegialar* [*Karadjalar*].*Jerid.**Leck.*<sup>1</sup>*Tegir.*<sup>2</sup>

- (c) *Pehlivanli* : live in district of Bosurk (? Bozuk, near Angora) and near Constantinople : summer one day's distance from the Rihanli.

- (d) *Rishwans* : winter in Haimaneh district near Angora, formerly near Aleppo.

*Sub-tribes of the Rishwans* :—*Deleyanli.**Gelikanli.**Mandolli.**Omar Anli.*

- (e) *Karashukli* : near Bir on Euphrates.<sup>3</sup>

## II.

§ 4. THE KYZYLBASH, TAKHTADJI, AND BEKTASHI.

The word *Kyzylbash* (lit. "red-head") is said by all authorities to be of comparatively recent origin, dating only from the establishment of the Sefavi dynasty of Persia by the Shah Ismail in 1499.<sup>4</sup> "*Kyzylbash*" was originally a nickname given to the new Shah's supporters on account of their having adopted as a distinguishing mark

<sup>1</sup> These speak a language of their own (Burckhardt, *op. cit.*, 642).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Grothe's *Tedjerli*, above, p. 323.

<sup>3</sup> A comparison with the list of the Turcomans of Luristan as given by Rawlinson (in *J.R.G.S.*, ix, 1839, 103) is also of interest. He enumerates them as follows:—*Ulaki* and *Mal Ahmedi*, with 400 families, wintering at Sar Dasht and Dizful, summering at Japalak and Silakhir: *Bukhtiyariwand* with 600 families and the same *habitat* as the above: *Duraki* with 4,000 families, summering at Chahar Mahal and wintering as above: *Sallaki* with 2,000 families, summering at Burburud: *Kunursi* with 1,000 families, summering at Feridun and about Zardah Kuh, wintering at Ram Hormuz, Janniki-Garmasir, and about Schuster: *Suhuni* with 1,500 families, *habitat* as *Kunursi*: *Mahmud Saleh* with 1,000 families and same *habitat*: *Mogui* with 500 families, *Memiwand* with 4,000, and *Zallaki* with 4,000, all with *habitat* as *Kunursi*: *Bawai* with 3,000 families, *Uruk* and *Shaluk* combined with 2,500 families, summering at Bazuft and wintering at Susan and Mal Amir.

<sup>4</sup> Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.*, iv, 90 and iv, 94, note; cf. Leunclavius, *Pandectes*, § 188; d'Herbelot, *Bibl. Orient. s.v. Haidar*; Knolles, *Hist. of Turks*, 316.





a red cap: the name continued in Persia to designate a kind of warrior-caste or order of knighthood.<sup>1</sup>

The Persian change of dynasty brought with it a change in the official religion, since the preceding monarchs had been of Turkish origin and *Sunni*, whereas Shah Ismail adhered to the *Shia* doctrines of his father.

The name "Kyzylbash," therefore, is associated from the first both with Persian nationality and Persian (*Shia*) religion, but has no ethnological significance whatever. In modern popular Turkish, owing to the long enmity between the two nations and the two religions, and to the suspicion and dislike with which the Turks regard the "Kyzylbash" of their own country, the word is used merely to designate a person of loose morals.<sup>2</sup>

As regards Anatolia, "Kyzylbash" is a contemptuous term used to denote the adherents of all sects of the *Shia* religion, including, e.g., the Nosairi and Yezidi, irrespective of race or language: the corresponding inoffensive term, by which the Anatolian Kyzylbash designate themselves, is Allevi ("worshippers of Ali"). Both terms include the *Shia* tribes of Northern Asia Minor, who are said to be Iranian Turks<sup>3</sup> and speak Turkish, and the so-called "Western Kurds," whose speech is a distinct dialect ("Zaza") of Kurdish or Turkish, and whose race is generally thought to contain a strong admixture of Armenian blood. This opinion, based not only on the physical characteristics of the tribes concerned but on tradition of various kinds, is of some importance as bearing on the question of the Christian element in the Kyzylbash religion: we shall return to it later.

In the West of Asia Minor the "Kyzylbash" are found only sporadically. In the Smyrna *vilayet* they are numerous in the *sandjak* of Tekke (Lycia), where they are called "Takhtadji,"<sup>4</sup> and are reported by Tsakyroglous to inhabit certain valleys of the Hermus<sup>5</sup> and Mæander,<sup>6</sup> where they are nomadic or semi-nomadic.<sup>7</sup> The Kyzylbash of Kaz Dagħ (probably Ida, which other considerations point out as a Kyzylbash district) are mentioned by Cantemir,<sup>8</sup> and Oberhummer found Kyzylbash villages in the neighbourhood of Afoun-Kara-Hissar,<sup>9</sup> which forms a link on the main highway between the Eastern and Western groups.

As to the Eastern group of Kyzylbash, they are known to inhabit certain parts of the *vilayet* of Angora,<sup>10</sup> and are admitted even by Turkish statistics to be numerous

<sup>1</sup> P. della Valle, *Viaggi* (Rome, 1658), ii, 46-7.

<sup>2</sup> Similarly, *dervish* is used of a person lax in the performance of his religious duties or suspected of free thought.

<sup>3</sup> Vambéry, *Turkenvolk*, 607.

<sup>4</sup> See below, p. 329.

<sup>5</sup> On the slopes of Mounts Tmolus and Sipylus and in the districts of Nymphi and Salikli.

<sup>6</sup> At Denizli and Apa.

<sup>7</sup> *Περὶ Γιορπούκων*, 29.

<sup>8</sup> *Hist. . . . Othoman*, tr. Jonquière, i, 179.

<sup>9</sup> *Durch Syrien und Kleinasien*, 393.

<sup>10</sup> Crowfoot in *J. R. Anthr. Inst.*, xxx (1900), 305-320; Perrot, *Souvenirs*, 423; Cuinet, *Turquie d'Asie*, i, 253.



in those of Sivas (279,834),<sup>1</sup> Diarbekir (6,000),<sup>2</sup> and Kharput (182,580).<sup>3</sup> In the case of the Sivas *vilayet* the official figures represent them as exactly half as numerous as the *Sunni* Moslems, not only in the *vilayet* as a whole but in every *kaza* composing it. The inference is that they are in reality much more numerous than the government is willing to admit.

Grenard, the only writer who has treated the Eastern Kyzylbash area as a connected whole, estimates the total number of the sect as upwards of a million.<sup>4</sup> Of these, he places 365,000 in the *vilayet* of Sivas (*kazas* of Sivas, Divrigi, Tonous, Yildizili, Hafik, Zileh, Medjid Euzu, Hadji Keui), 300,000 in that of Kharput, and 107,000 in that of Erzeroum (*sandjak* of Erzingian, especially *kazas* of Baiburt, Terdjian, and part of Kighi). It is thus in the "Armenian" *vilayets* that the "Kyzylbash" are strongest.

The great importance of Grenard's statistics consists in the fact that they clearly show the close geographical contact of the Kyzylbash communities of Western Kurdistan with those of Eastern Anatolia. We may probably assume that the Eastern Anatolian Kyzylbash are similarly connected with the more scattered communities of Western Anatolia.

The Kyzylbash religion, if we make allowances for variation due to locality and to the natural intelligence, candour and knowledge of different informants, is similarly homogeneous, though fluid; there are indications that the whole sect is linked together by its alliance with the Bektashi dervishes.

Thus, in Cilicia the woodcutter (*Takhtadji*) caste has embraced a form of the *Shia* faith and would be reckoned by the Turks as Kyzylbash: some have identified their religion with that of the Syrian Nosairi.<sup>5</sup> In the province of Tekke (Lycia) the Kyzylbash are generally known as Takhtadji ("woodcutters") on account of their employment, but like the Kyzylbash elsewhere, they call themselves Allevi<sup>6</sup> and are connected with the Bektashi order of dervishes,<sup>7</sup> whose local centre is at

<sup>1</sup> Cuinet, *Turquie d'Asie*, i, 617; for further information on the Kyzylbash of this *vilayet* see van Lennep, *Travels in Asia Minor*, i, 30 (cf. Jewett in *Amer. Miss. Her.* liv, 109 f., Nutting, *ibid.*, lvi, 345, Livingston, *ibid.*, lxi, 246, Winchester, *ibid.*, lvii, 71; Prof. G. White (of Marsovan College), *Trans. Vict. Inst.*, xl (1908), 225-36 and *Contemp. Rev.*, Nov. 1913, 690 ff. Jerphanion's *Carte du Yéhil Irmağ* is the first attempt to show the distribution of the Kyzylbash villages.

<sup>2</sup> Cuinet, *op. cit.*, ii, 322.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, ii, 412. Further information on the Kyzylbash of Kurdistan is given by Taylor in *J.R.G.S.*, 1865, 28 ff., 1868, 304 ff.; Perkins in *Amer. Miss. Her.*, lii, 296 f., liii, 304 ff.; Wilson in Murray's *Asia Minor* [63] and 276; Bent, *Report Brit. Ass.*, 1889; Huntington in *Geog. Jour.*, xx (1902), 186 ff.; Molyneux-Seel in *Geog. Jour.*, xlv (1914), 51 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Jour. Asiat.*, 1904 (x serie, iii), 521.

<sup>5</sup> Tsakyroglous, *op. cit.*, 18; but this identity is denied by F. Schaffer, *Cilicia* (Petermann's *Mith.*, *Ergänzungsheft*, cxli, p. 27).

<sup>6</sup> On the Lycian Takhtadji see Bent, *J. R. Anthr. Inst.*, xx (1890), 269-76; von Luschan, *Lykien*, ii, 198-213; Cuinet, i, 855.

<sup>7</sup> See below, p. 331.







FIG. 1.—MAP SHOWING THE vilayets WHERE THE KYZYLBASH ARE MOST NUMEROUS (FROM CUINET, *Turquie d'Asie*, VOL. I).

oh yeah?



Elmalı. The Lycian Takhtadji are said to owe their conversion to *Shia* Islam to the missionary activity in the fourteenth century of sheikhs from Konia.<sup>1</sup>

Side by side with the Lycian Takhtadji von Luschan found traces of what appeared to be a second heterodox sect, the Bektashi.<sup>2</sup> Similarly, Crowfoot, finding that the Kyzylbash of the Halys district (*vilayet* of Angora) hailed each other as "Bektash," suspected that this was the name of a local sect of Kyzylbash.<sup>3</sup>

The real explanation of the apparent second sect or subdivision lies in the close association of many Kyzylbash with the Bektashi order of dervishes. Lycia has long been a field of Bektashi propaganda, and the Kyzylbash villages of the Halys are not far from the central sanctuary of the Bektashi, near Kirshehr,<sup>4</sup> which contains the tomb of their titular founder, Hadji Bektash, and is visited as a pilgrimage even by the distant Kyzylbash Kurds.<sup>5</sup> The Bektashi-Kyzylbash of Lycia are probably Kyzylbash who have become affiliated as lay adherents (*mühîb*) of the Bektashi order of dervishes.

As to the "Bektash" of the Halys district, which are nearer the Bektashi centre, they may either be inhabitants of villages forming part of the endowments (*vakouf*) of the *tekke* of Hadji Bektash, or, if (as I have suggested elsewhere)<sup>6</sup> "Hadji Bektash" himself represents the original tribal-chief and medicine-man eponymous of a tribe Bektashli, they may be a portion of this tribe.

Kyzylbash, in the Turkish sense at least, are to be reckoned the inhabitants of certain heterodox villages in the Hermus valley, regarding the population of which Ramsay gleaned the following details. Like the nomads, they do not conform to orthodox Mahomedan custom in the details of veiling women, polygamy, abstention from wine, and worship in mosques. They fast twelve days in spring, their women are called by Christian names, they have no aversion to Christian holy books, and are visited by an itinerant holy man called a Karabash<sup>7</sup> (Tk. "black head").

It happens that, among the Yezidi of Syria (Jebel Siman),<sup>8</sup> there is a tribe possessing a kind of Levitical status and called Karabash.<sup>9</sup> The Yezidi religion is, of course, known to contain Christian elements, and the Yezidi view of Christianity and the Bible is somewhat similar to that of the Kyzylbash. It would thus appear

<sup>1</sup> Von Hammer, *Hist. Emp. Ott.*, iv, 91 (from the sixteenth century Turkish historian Djenabi).

<sup>2</sup> Von Luschan, *Lykien*, ii, 203, note.

<sup>3</sup> *J. R. Anthr. Inst.*, xxx (1900), 305; cf. Grothe, *Vorderasiensexpedition*, ii, 148 note 4.

<sup>4</sup> It has been visited by P. Lucas (*Voyage dans la Grèce*, Amsterdam, 1714, i, 124); G. Naumann (*Vom Goldenen Horn*, 195); and Prof. White (*Contemp. Review*, Nov. 1913, 690-98).

<sup>5</sup> Molyneux-Seel, *Geog. Journ.*, xlv (1914), 66.

<sup>6</sup> *B.S.A.*, xxi (1914-16), 89.

<sup>7</sup> Ramsay, *Pauline Studies*, 180 f. and *Intermixture of Races in Asia Minor*, 20.

<sup>8</sup> This is a colony of their main settlement, grouped round the shrine of Sheikh Adi in the Mosul *vilayet*. For the Yezidi see Menzel in Grothe, *Vorderasiensexpedition*, i, lxxxix ff.

<sup>9</sup> Jerphanion in *Mélanges de la Faculté Orientale* (Beyrout), ii, 376. The Yezidi itinerant preachers wear black turbans (Hume Griffith, *Behind the Veil*, 288).







that the heterodox villages of the Hermus valley are connected with the Yezidi, which implies that they were converted or colonised from Syria. But it will be observed that the whole argument depends on the word "Karabash," which is ambiguous, having been applied, till recently, to Christian monks and priests<sup>1</sup> (as wearing black caps) in general. It is safer to suppose for the present that the story is a garbled version of an annual visitation of Kyzylbash villages, which are known to exist in this district,<sup>2</sup> by Bektashi *sheikhs*.

The following is a summary of the information at our disposal on the religion of the Kyzylbash, compiled from several sources and referring chiefly to the Kyzylbash of the Kurdish and Armenian *vilayets*. It will be found that, although we have little exact information on the religion of the Lycian Takhtadji, what we have confirms the idea of their close religious connection with the Kyzylbash further East.

### I. *Theology.*

God is one and omnipotent, without son or companion.<sup>3</sup>

Ali is God incarnate, identical with Christ, and will appear again.<sup>4</sup>

Ali is identical with Christ and is the spirit of God. "Ali is the best of men, excelling even Mohammed in goodness; if Ali had not existed, God could not have created the world, but Ali is emphatically not divine."<sup>5</sup>

Ali is identical with Christ, but the Kyzylbash call him Ali to deceive the Turks.<sup>6</sup>

The Kyzylbash *Trinity* is perhaps Ali, Jesus and Mahommed (Father, Son and Holy Spirit respectively), but the intrusion of Mahommed, for whom they have no reverence, is to be suspected.<sup>7</sup>

Their prayers are directed chiefly to Allah, Ali and Hussein.<sup>8</sup>

The *Devil* is a person and is re-incarnated to oppose each incarnation of God: he is not worshipped.<sup>9</sup>

*Intermediaries* are the five archangels, twelve ministers of God, and forty prophets, including Selman. The prophet Khidr is identified with S. Sergius.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. O. F. von Richter, *Wallfahrten*, 333; Fallmerayer, *Fragmente*, 125; also Schiltberger, *Reise*, ed. Penzel, 149, ed. Hakluyt, 74. Hammer mentions a Khalveti called Karabash (*Hist. Emp. Ott.*, xviii, 97 (805)).

<sup>2</sup> Above, p. 328.

<sup>3</sup> Molyneux-Seel in *Geog. Journ.*, xliv (1914), 65.

<sup>4</sup> Grenard in *Journ. Asiat.*, 1904 (x série, iii), 514 ff.

<sup>5</sup> M. Sykes, *Dar-ul-Islam*, 121-2.

<sup>6</sup> Dunmore in *Amer. Miss. Herald*, liii (1857), 219.

<sup>7</sup> Grenard, *op. cit.*, 515.

<sup>8</sup> Grothe, *Vorderasieneexpedition*, ii, 153.

<sup>9</sup> Grenard, 516.

<sup>10</sup> Grenard, 515, and (for the last part) Molyneux-Seel, 66.



The twelve Imams are the twelve Apostles ; Hassan and Hussein are SS. Peter and Paul.<sup>1</sup>

The twelfth Imam is in hiding and the Kyzylbash await his coming.<sup>2</sup>

The great prophets are Jesus, Mohanned, Moses, Abraham and Ali.<sup>3</sup>

The great prophets are Adam, Moses, David and Jesus.<sup>4</sup>

The great prophets are Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Christ, Mahommed and Ali.<sup>5</sup>

Moses, David, Christ and Ali are all incarnations of the same person.<sup>6</sup>

Jesus is the greatest of the prophets.<sup>7</sup>

The Virgin is regarded as the Mother of God and much venerated.<sup>8</sup>

## II. *Mythology.*

When the Mahommedans of Damascus killed Hussein, the son of Ali, they cut off his head and carried it away. It was stolen from them by an Armenian priest, Akh Mrtouza Keshish, who substituted for it the head of his eldest son, at the proposal of the latter. As the Turks discovered the fraud, the priest cut off the heads of all his seven sons and offered each in turn as the head of Hussein. In the case of the last head he received a divine warning to smear it with the blood of Hussein and by this means deceived the "Turks" and kept the holy relic for himself.<sup>9</sup>

He placed it in a special apartment, which he adorned with gold and silver and silk. His only daughter, entering that apartment one day, saw not the head of Hussein but a plate of gold filled with honey. She tasted the honey and became with child. "One day the girl complained of a cold, and on sneezing her father saw suddenly issue from her nose a bright flame, which changed at the same instant into the form of a child. Thus did Imam Bakir, son of Hussein, come into the world."

<sup>1</sup> Molyneux-Seel, 66.

<sup>2</sup> Sykes, 122.

<sup>3</sup> Sykes, 121.

<sup>4</sup> Ellsworth Huntington in *Geog. Journ.*, xx (1902), 187.

<sup>5</sup> Molyneux-Seel, 65.

<sup>6</sup> Von Luschan, *Lykien*, ii, 201.

<sup>7</sup> Huntington, 187.

<sup>8</sup> Grenard, 515.

<sup>9</sup> Molyneux-Seel, 64. A variation is related by White from the Cappadocian Kyzylbash country (*Contemp. Review*, Nov. 1913, 698) as follows:—"There is a story that when the great Ali was put to death by his enemies, his head by some chance was placed for safe keeping in the hands of a Christian priest. Afterwards the persecutors wanted it to gloat over it or abuse it, but the priest refused to deliver it up. On being pressed, he cut off the head of his eldest son and offered that instead, but it was refused. So he did with his second and other sons, to the number of seven. Then his wife asked her husband to cut off and offer her head. He did so, and this was accepted."





"The fact that a descendant of Ali had been born immediately became known to the sorcerers of the Turks, who thereupon sent people to search for the child and slay it. They came to the priest's house. At this time the young mother was engaged in washing the household linen, and, being told the reason of the visit of the Turks, hastily put her child into a copper cauldron which was on the fire and covered him with linen. The Turks knew by their magic arts that the child was in a house of copper, but unable to find any such house in the precincts of the priest's dwelling were baffled, and the child's life was saved. On account of this incident the child received the name of Bakir, which in Turkish means copper."<sup>1</sup>

Ali as a child went to Khoubyar and was put into a furnace for seven days as his enemies wished to kill him.<sup>2</sup>

### III. *Hierarchy.*

The priests are called *Dede*; above them are bishops and patriarchs. Of the latter there are two, one of whom resides in a *tekke* at Khoubyar, fifty-five kilometres North-East of Sivas. The patriarchs are descendants of Ali and infallible in doctrine.<sup>3</sup>

The religious head of the Kyzylbash resides in the Dersim.<sup>4</sup>

Priests are called *Seid*; above them are bishops (*Murshud*) and archbishops (*Mürshüdün Mürshüdü*). *Seids* give religious instruction and receive tribute.<sup>5</sup>

The Kyzylbash are visited once a year, but at no fixed time, by a *murshud*, who holds a service, recites the law, and gives definite readings and interpretations of the sacred books. If he pays a second visit in the year he holds no religious conversation.<sup>6</sup>

Priests are allowed to marry, but celibates enjoy greater prestige.<sup>7</sup>

Once or twice a year every village is visited by a *dede*, a kind of communion takes place, as also preaching, prayers, and a religious dance in which both sexes participate.<sup>8</sup>

The hierarchy is composed of *Deydees* and *Seyds*; the latter are hereditary, the former apostolically consecrated.<sup>9</sup>

Peripatetic *dedes* are mentioned by Grothe.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Molyneux-Seel, 65.

<sup>2</sup> Grenard, 518.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> Oberhummer and Zimmerer, *Durch Syrien und Kleinasien*, 394.

<sup>5</sup> Molyneux-Seel, 64.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 66.

<sup>7</sup> Prof. White in *Trans. Vict. Inst.*, xl (1908), 236.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 231.

<sup>9</sup> Taylor in *J.R.G.S.*, xxxviii (1868), 319.

<sup>10</sup> Grothe, ii, 155.



Among the Lycian Takhtadji every tribe, however small, has a *Baba* or *Dede*, whose office is hereditary.<sup>1</sup>

#### IV. *Fasts and Feasts and Public Worship.*

The twelve days' fast and feast of Mohurrem is observed.<sup>2</sup>

They fast twelve days for the twelve Imams and three days for Khidr.<sup>3</sup>

They fast before Khidr's feast (February 9th) and at the Armenian Easter.<sup>4</sup>

"On the night of January 1st (O.S.)<sup>5</sup> they meet at the house of the Seïds for a ceremony resembling the Communion. After prayers the Seïd blesses the bread, which is called *Haqq loqması*,<sup>6</sup> and distributes it to the communicants, who approach two by two. The blessed bread is not distributed to any person who may be declared by the inhabitants of his village to be unworthy. The communicants are called *Musseib*."<sup>7</sup>

The Kyzylbash have neither mosque nor church, but both sexes meet for prayer at the house of the *Seid* on Fridays.<sup>8</sup>

They have a perverted mass: the priest chants prayers in honour of Christ, Moses and David. Water is consecrated by the priest dipping a stick into it. There is a public confession of sins, which are punished by fines: lights are put out while the congregation mourns its sins.<sup>9</sup> When they are re-lighted, the priest gives absolution,<sup>10</sup> and, having blessed bread and wine, gives a sop to the congregation. Morsels (*loqma*) of the flesh of a sacrificed lamb are given at the same time. Known evil livers are not admitted to the service.<sup>11</sup>

As to the consecrating of water the following is informing:—"All the Seïds keep with them a certain stick and a leather bag, about the uses of which there is some mystery, and which are said to be employed in the performance of certain pagan rites. However, the Seïds say that the stick is a portion of the rod of Moses, and the bag an imitation of that carried by St. John the Baptist."<sup>12</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Von Luschan, ii, 201.

<sup>2</sup> Grenard, 514; Sykes, 122.

<sup>3</sup> Molyneux-Seel, 66.

<sup>4</sup> Grenard, 518.

<sup>5</sup> This is one of the days on which the Nosairi celebrate their communion, the others being Christmas, Epiphany and the Persian New Year (*Nevrouz*). For some notes on *Nevrouz*, see Goldziher in *Rev. Hist. Rel.*, ii (1880), 308-9.

<sup>6</sup> "Morsel of the Just" (i.e. God).

<sup>7</sup> Molyneux-Seel, 66.

<sup>8</sup> Molyneux-Seel, 66.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Grothe, ii, 155.

<sup>10</sup> Confession and absolution ceremonies exist also among the Lycian Takhtadji (von Luschan, ii, 202).

<sup>11</sup> Grenard, 517. A "sort of sacrament" is reported of the Eastern Kyzylbash by Huntington (*loc. cit.*, p. 188), a communion of bread and wine by White (*Contemp. Review*, Nov. 1913, 696).

<sup>12</sup> Molyneux-Seel, 66.





V. *Private Prayer.*

Private prayer is enjoined once a day. This prayer is secret, but contains reference to all the great prophets.<sup>1</sup>

They pray privately every morning.<sup>2</sup>

They never pray in private.<sup>3</sup>

They adore the sun rising and setting,<sup>4</sup> reverence fire, and sacrifice at the sources of rivers, in particular that of the Mezoor.<sup>5</sup>

VI. *Sacred Books.*

The Kyzylbash have no sacred books, but recognise as inspired the Pentateuch, the New Testament, and the Koran.<sup>6</sup>

They admit the five collections of Traditions, but do not recognise Jews or fire-worshippers as "People of the Book."<sup>7</sup>

They have four holy books, which are the Gospels.<sup>8</sup>

They have two books, the *Bouyourouk*,<sup>9</sup> which contains selections from the Old Testament, and the *Yusef Kitab*,<sup>10</sup> which contains extracts from the New Testament.<sup>11</sup>

They have a book, which is only in the possession of the priesthood, but it does not seem to be a *corpus* of dogma.<sup>12</sup>

The Lycian Takhtadjj claim to have a book.<sup>13</sup>

VII. *Pilgrimage.*

The Kyzylbash do not make pilgrimage to Mecca but to the *Shia* sanctuaries of Bagdad, Kufa and Kerbela, and to certain Anatolian holy places, the most

<sup>1</sup> Sykes, 121.

<sup>2</sup> Molyneux-Seel, 66.

<sup>3</sup> Huntington, 187.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. the similar custom of the Yezidi, mentioned by W. B. Heard in *J. R. Anthr. Inst.*, xli (1911), 213.

<sup>5</sup> Taylor, *J.R.G.S.*, xxxviii (1868), 320. A local legend connects the source of the Mezoor, with a shepherd saint of the same name, who is said to have disappeared there (Molyneux-Seel *loc. cit.*, 60). It is probably a nature cult anthropomorphised.

<sup>6</sup> Molyneux-Seel, 66. Van Lennep says vaguely that they read the Christian scriptures (*Travels in Asia Minor*, 30 ff.).

<sup>7</sup> Sykes, 122.

<sup>8</sup> Huntington, 187. This author recognises that the Kyzylbash, when questioned as to their religion by Christians, colour their answers to make its analogies to Christianity closer. This seems to be an extreme case.

<sup>9</sup> ["Book of Commandments" from *bouyourmaq* = to command.—M.M.H.]

<sup>10</sup> ["Joseph's book."—M.M.H.]

<sup>11</sup> Dunmore in *Amer. Miss. Her.*, liii (1857), 220.

<sup>12</sup> Grothe, ii, 151, 154.

<sup>13</sup> Von Luschan, ii, 200. Mills records an attempt in 1841 to convert the Samaritans forcibly on the plea that they had no book. The Jews got them off on the plea that they accept the Pentateuch (*Three Months*, 277 ff.).





important being Hadji Bektash' (near Kirshehr), the centre of the Bektashi dervishes, and a reputed tomb of Hassan at Sivas.<sup>1</sup>

### IX. *Marriage.*

The Kyzylbash may marry three wives; divorce and temporary marriage are prohibited. An unfaithful wife may be killed.<sup>2</sup>

Divorce is prohibited. Armenians are accepted as *parrains* at marriages.<sup>3</sup>

Divorce is prohibited.<sup>4</sup>

Strictly the Kyzylbash are only permitted to take one wife, but many have lapsed into polygamy. The peripatetic *dede* presides at marriages when possible.<sup>5</sup>

Prostitution of virgins to guests, and especially to itinerent *dedes*, is recorded, on the authority of a bigoted *Sunni*, by Grothe.<sup>6</sup>

Among the Lycian Takhtadji marriage between brother and sister is permitted.<sup>7</sup>

It is fairly apparent that the predominating element in the Kyzylbash religion is *Shia* Mahommedanism, and the secondary Christian, the whole having a substratum of pagan animistic elements,<sup>8</sup> many of which might be found in slightly changed form among professedly orthodox Turks or oriental Christians. On the *Shia* side note the exalted position held by Ali, Hassan and Hussein, and the importance of their pilgrimages, as compared with the neglect of Mahommed and Mecca: note also the importance of the *Imams* and the Second Advent. The Christian elements, apart from the formal identification of *Shia* with Christian sacred figures, reduce themselves to the celebration of certain Armenian feasts, and the ritual of the "perverted mass." It should be noted that the "ritual meal" is an idea by no means foreign to Islam,<sup>9</sup> the Semitic element being, as in Christianity, partly responsible. Nor must it be overlooked that one of the prototypes of the Christian communion is found in Persian Mithraism.

As regards the hierarchy it seems clear that the parish priest, who is generally called *Seyid* by our authorities, is normally married, his office being hereditary, and he himself, as his name implies, a descendant of the Prophet and therefore of

<sup>1</sup> Molyneux-Seel, 66. This is presumably the tomb of the Holy Children (*Maksoum Pak*), discovered in recent times in the town of Sivas. The Holy Children are not Hassan and Hussein but the infant sons of two of the *Imams*: the confusion in popular thought is natural (see F. W. Hasluck in *B.S.A.*, xxi, 1914-16, pp. 95-6 and 96, n. 1).

<sup>2</sup> Sykes, 121.

<sup>3</sup> Grenard, 518, 521.

<sup>4</sup> Taylor, 319.

<sup>5</sup> Grothe, ii, 154.

<sup>6</sup> *Vorderasiene expedition*, ii, 150.

<sup>7</sup> Von Luschan, *Lykien*, ii, 199.

<sup>8</sup> Grenard, *loc. cit.*, brings this out in detail.

<sup>9</sup> G. Jacob in *Der Islam* (ii, 232) for "Bektashi" communion.



Ali. A celibate monk can, however, as in oriental Christianity, officiate, if in orders, as parish priest.

The peripatetic "bishop" or *murshud*<sup>1</sup> seems to be a (celibate?) dervish of the Bektashi order. On this point Tsakyroglous, speaking of the Kyzylbash in general but probably more particularly of those in his own *vilayet* of Aidin, is very explicit. He says that the communities are visited yearly by Bektashi sheikhs, who confess, catechise and instruct their flocks.<sup>2</sup> Professor White, speaking of Pontus, says that the Kyzylbash villages there are organised in groups, each group having its *tekke* of dervishes.<sup>3</sup>

The "patriarchs," of whom one resides at Khoubyar (the other is probably the "Tchelebi" of the Bektashi<sup>4</sup>) are again hereditary (the "Tchelebi" certainly), their descent being important. The doubling of the office reminds us of the Armenian and Greek churches.

Certain points in the Kyzylbash system, mostly negative, sever them from, and form a stumbling-block to, their *Sunni* neighbours. Thus, they do not conform to *Sunni* practice in the matter of veiling women, the five prayers, circumcision and other religious duties; they are said to eat pork and drink wine, to marry, within the prohibited degrees, and to indulge in immoral orgies, men and women being assembled in a great room in which the lights are suddenly extinguished. This is evidently a prejudiced version of the "perverted mass" ceremony described above. Impartial investigators have found that, while marriage between brother and sister is countenanced by them,<sup>5</sup> they are very strict about divorce and monogamy, and the grave charge of promiscuity, which has been much exploited by (chiefly ignorant) *Supni* partisans, and has earned for the Kyzylbash the opprobrious nicknames of *Zerati* and *Moumsounderen* ("candle-extinguishers"<sup>6</sup>), is generally thought to be a calumny.

The same charges of incest and promiscuity are brought against the Druses by Benjamin of Tudela in the twelfth century,<sup>7</sup> and the latter in modern times by

<sup>1</sup> The word is in general use amongst dervishes for a "spiritual director"; every *sheikh* of a convent, for instance, is a *murshud* in relation to his pupils (*chagirt*).

<sup>2</sup> Περὶ Γιουρούκων, 30:—Ἐκ τῆς μονῆς ταύτης (sc. τοῦ Χατζῆ Βέκτας) ἐξέρχονται ἐτησίως εἰς περιοδείαν Σείχαι ἐπισκεπτόμενοι τὰς κώμας καὶ τὰ χωρία ἔνθα ὑπάρχουσι κοινότητες τῶν Κιζιλ-μπάς, ἐξομολογοῦσιν αὐτοὺς, κατήχουσι καὶ ποδηγετοῦσιν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν ὁδὸν τῆς ἀληθείας καὶ ἔχοντες συνάμα δικαστικὴν οὕτως εἰπεῖν δικαιοδοσίαν ἐξομαλύνουσι διηρέξεις καὶ διαφορὰς ὑφιστάμενας μετὰ τῶν κοινοτήτων, οὗτοι ἐν τέλει λαμβάνουσιν παρ' αὐτῶν καὶ τὸ ἐτησίως ὀρισμένον δηνάριον.

<sup>3</sup> *Trans. Vict. Inst.*, xl (1908), 231.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. White in *Contemp. Rev.*, Nov. 1913, 693. But Oberhummer speaks of a supreme religious head of the Kyzylbash as resident in the Dersim (*op. cit.*, 394).

<sup>5</sup> Von Luschan, ii, 199.

<sup>6</sup> Rycaut, *Present State* (1687), 65: cf. Niebuhr, *Reisebeschreibung*, iii, 125. On *zerati* see Gibb, *Ottoman Poetry*, i, 358.

<sup>7</sup> *Travels*, ed. Asher, 61–2, ed. Wright, 80. For the same charge against the Nosairi of Syria see Niebuhr, *Voyage en Arabie*, ii, 361.





the Arabs against the fire-worshippers<sup>1</sup> as by the "Old" Turks against the Crypto-Jews of Salonica.<sup>2</sup> The truth seems to be that the Turks are extremely strict about the degrees of consanguinity,<sup>3</sup> and that some Kyzybash infringe their rules. As a matter of fact, as we have seen above, the marriage laws of the Dersim Kyzybash at least are in some respects much stricter than those of orthodox Islam. For the rest, Kyzybash laxity in the veiling of women and the fact that the sexes unite in an act of worship, of which no more is known than that it is unorthodox, are sufficient basis for a wholesale slander.

A certain amount of official pressure is exerted to convert the Kyzybash to the orthodox faith of Islam. To them, as to the Yourouks of Ida, *Sunni* missionaries are sent to preach during the month of Ramazan, and mosques are occasionally built in their villages by government orders.<sup>4</sup> The Pontic Kyzybash, according to Professor White, are to some extent organised against government aggression. Some years ago, it is said, a rumour became current that the documents of the Kyzybash religious foundations (*vakoufs*) were required at Constantinople: the leaders of the sect warned their communities to be ready to resist, and no steps were taken by the government.<sup>5</sup>

As regards the connection between Christianity and the religion of the Kyzybash the latter claim that there is very little difference between the two faiths; they are certainly in their personal relations more sympathetic to Christians than to *Sunni* Mahommedans. An *aga* of Kyzybash Kurds was actually converted to Christianity by American missionaries in the fifties.<sup>7</sup>

An obvious link between the two religions is the fact that both are regarded as inferiors, socially and politically, by the dominant *Sunni* religion. Further, we have found that the Kyzybash celebrate certain Armenian feasts and are thickest in the "Armenian" *vilayets*. A number of traditions also connect the two. Thus, the Kurdish, and probably also the Anatolian, Kyzybash represent their *Imam* as

<sup>1</sup> Jerphanion in *Mélanges de la Faculté Orientale* (Beyrout), ii, 405.

<sup>2</sup> *Mécheroutiette* (an organ of the Turkish Liberal party), 1914, p. 16. The same is alleged of the Russian Tatarinof sect (see A. Dumas, *Russie*): one of their number confessed this, but *under torture*. Early Christian heretics were accused by the orthodox of the same crime (Strack, *Blutaberglaube*, 71); pagans said the same of Christians (Kortholt, *De Calumniis Paganorum*, Kiel, 1668). Thévenot records that the vagabond *Hhoïames* of Egypt practised promiscuity (*Voyages*, ii, 852), but any mixed gathering was liable to the suspicion: cf. the accounts of the Easter Fire ceremony at Jerusalem in d'Arvieux, *Mémoires*, ii, 142; Faber, *Evagat.* ed. Hassler, ii, 92; Maundrell, *Travels*, ed. Wright, 182. Cf. also what Lucius says of the festivals of martyrs in early times (*Anfänge des Heiligenkults*, 319-23). In the case of Jerusalem there is also an idea that a child begotten in such circumstances and surroundings is particularly fortunate (Tobler, *Bethlehem*, 75, 139; Tobler, *Golgotha*, 427).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Le Bruyn, *Voyage au Levant*, i, 405.

<sup>4</sup> White in *Trans. Vict. Inst.*, xl (1908), 228.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 235: too much stress will not be laid on this story by those who know the country.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 231.

<sup>7</sup> Dunmore in *Amer. Miss. Herald*, liii (1857), 219 f.





born of the virgin daughter of an Armenian priest.<sup>1</sup> The Armenians on their side claim the Kyzylbash Kurds as perverted co-religionists.<sup>2</sup>

Other examples of traditions recording the conversion of Armenians *en bloc* to Islam are to be found in the cases (1) of a tribe classed as Turcoman and called Pehlivanli, settled between Sivas and Angora<sup>3</sup> (a "Kyzylbash" country, be it remarked), and (2) of the Mahalemi "Kurds," who are said to have been converted "two hundred years ago."<sup>4</sup>

According to Mrs. Scott-Stevenson the (Sunni) Afshars<sup>5</sup> of the Anti-Taurus claim Armenian descent,<sup>6</sup> which, though probably false of the Afshars as a whole, may still be true of some sections of the tribe. Tchihatcheff's picture of Pharasa (a Greek village of the Anti-Taurus) in the fifties, ruled by Afshar chiefs and taking part with them in their forays against the Turks,<sup>7</sup> may show a phase in such a development.<sup>8</sup> As regards the Kyzylbash, it is important to note that all traditions speak of them as converted Armenians, not Greeks.

It must not, however, be imagined that the question of the "Kyzylbash" religion is finally disposed of by classing it as Shia, since the Shia religion is subdivided into numerous sects and heresies. Sir Charles Wilson compares the religion of the Anatolian Kyzylbash, not with that of orthodox Persian Shias, but rather

<sup>1</sup> Above, p. 333.

<sup>2</sup> Molyneux-Seel in *Geog. Journ.*, xliv (1914), 64-7 : cf. Huntington in *Geog. Journ.*, xx (1902), 186.

<sup>3</sup> Niebuhr (who had it from Patrick Russell of Aleppo), *Voyage en Arabie* (Amsterdam, 1780), ii, 341.

<sup>4</sup> Sir Mark Sykes in *Geog. Journ.*, xxx (1907), 387. Both these and the Pehlivanli (Niebuhr, *Voy. en Arabie*, ii, 341) are said to have turned Musulman on account of the severity of Armenian fasts. The motif is a "stock" one (cf. Pococke, *Descr. of the East*, ii, 133; G. Kammās, *Μικραὶ Ἡμεροί*, 1915, p. 281), but the conversion may nevertheless be a fact: on the other hand it may be merely a reflection on the character of the tribes in question, put into currency by rivals or enemies. The Maronite villages are said to convert regularly to Protestantism when oppressed by their priests: when this pressure has gained them their point, they as regularly revert to Catholicism (Mrs. Mackintosh, *Damascus*, 286). If it were as easy and safe to revert from Islam as from Protestantism, we should doubtless find fewer Moslems in Turkey at the present day: cf. the cases of the Presba villages (Bérard, *Macédoine*, 20), of the Karamuratadhes (Pouqueville, *Voyage dans la Grèce*, i, 259-61), and of the Valachadhes (Bérard, *Macédoine*, 110; Wace and Thompson, *Nomads of the Balkans*, 29).

<sup>5</sup> For the Afshars see Grothe, *Vorderasiene Expedition*, ii, 135 ff.

<sup>6</sup> *Our Ride through Asia Minor*, 218. Others have called them renegade Greeks (Tsakyrogious, *Περὶ Γιουρούκων*, 13).

<sup>7</sup> Tschihatscheff's *Reisen in Kleinasien*, ed. Kiepert, 14. We may compare the conditions noticed in the early years of the nineteenth century by Burckhardt in the Cilician plain (Barker, *Lares and Penates*, 355 ff.). Here the Greek villages were subjected to Turcoman chiefs and had largely assimilated themselves to their protectors.

<sup>8</sup> The recent ("fifty years ago," i.e. about 1830) conversion of Burunguz, an Armenian village near Tomarza, in the district of Cæsarea, noted by J. F. Skene (*Anadol*, 175), is worth putting on record in this connection: both period and locality point to the Afshars as the "missionaries" responsible for the change.





with that of the Nosairi of Syria<sup>1</sup>. Bent, speaking of the Takhtadji in particular, classes their religion with that of the Nosairi and Yezidi,<sup>2</sup> and von Luschan<sup>3</sup> and Oberhummer<sup>4</sup> are of the same opinion. It cannot be expected that the religion practised by these scattered and possibly heterogeneous communities is identical. But in the present vague state of our knowledge it would be worse than useless to attempt a more exact classification.

It is at least fairly clear that the Kyzylbash religion from Mardin and Erzeroum to Smyrna is identical in its main lines and an offshoot of Shia Islam containing considerable elements of Christianity, with an animistic basis, according to Grenard's information, and that the Bektashi, the only dervish order in Turkey openly professing the Shia faith, form a sort of hierarchy among a large proportion of the Kyzylbash populations. The inherence of the Bektashi, whatever its origin, is explained by the fiction that the tribal saints of the various Kyzylbash villages were "brothers," "companions" or "disciples" of Hadji Bektash.<sup>5</sup>

Von Luschan has already established the important point<sup>6</sup> that the similarities of religion between the "Kyzylbash" group (including "Bektash" and "Takhtadji") in Anatolia coincide with anthropological similarities which connect this group also with the North Syrian and North Mesopotamian heterodox sects (Yezidi, Nosairi, etc.), with the Armenians, with certain types of Anatolian Greek, and with the Hittites.

The locality in which this anthropological type is most frequent is the mountainous "bridge-land" which lies between the fertile countries of Anatolia, Persia, Mesopotamia and Syria. This "bridge-land" has never been civilized, though it has been penetrated at various times by missionaries, religious, political and military: in particular, being the old border-land between Turkey and Persia, it was naturally the resort of Persian emissaries during the long wars of the two nations. The result of the presumed religious propaganda carried on from the side of Persia among still pagan nomads, Kurdish and Turkish, possibly also among Armenian Christians,<sup>7</sup> is a patchwork of religious compromises, of which the outwardly predominating elements are Shia Islam and Armenian Christianity, among a people of marked physical homogeneity.

A certain proportion of these peoples has migrated westwards, as probably in other directions, either from natural causes or under the pressure of the artificial transplantation, which was carried out in the sixteenth century by the Ottoman

<sup>1</sup> *Geog. Journ.*, vi (1884), 313.

<sup>2</sup> *J. R. Anthr. Inst.*, xx (1890), 270.

<sup>3</sup> *Reisen in Lykien*, ii, 202.

<sup>4</sup> *Durch Syrien*, 394.

<sup>5</sup> See *B.S.A.*, xx (1913-14), 98 and xxi (1914-16), 96.

<sup>6</sup> *J. R. Anthr. Inst.*, xli (1911), 241 f.

<sup>7</sup> Or the conversion of the latter may be attributed to the persecution of already converted Kurds and Turks.



government<sup>1</sup> as a means of breaking up the solidarity of border-tribes known to be Shia in religion and consequently in sympathy with Persia. The emigration process may have gone on for centuries, the emigrants from the mountainous "bridge-land" sometimes amalgamating with the men of the plains under the influence of a prevalent civilisation, sometimes keeping themselves aloof owing to religious or other differences. The "bridge-land" type, when found in the west, may thus represent immigrations of widely different date, ranging from remote antiquity to comparatively modern times.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Belon, *Observations de Plusieurs Singularités*, iii, cap. xii.







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